797 sometimes the Koran as an amulet, but that they had kept its fatalism. (1) Many authors also take pleasure in pointing out

1. Essai sur la littérature des Berbères /Essay on the Literature of the Berbers/, p. 388.

their more than superficial polish in matters of Islamism.

781 In spite of all this, we must not exaggerate the degree of
797 irreligion of the Tuareg. Since the French occupation, the
177 action of marabouts who cross the country trading is growing
648 slowly but surely. The state of lethargy into which the suppression of their life of brigandage has thrown them is gradually pushing them toward religion, and it is becoming more and more common
[517 565] to see young nobles kill time by reciting in front of a small Koran board.

771 Superstition is very strong in them. They have not succeeded
[789] in breaking away from their ancient beliefs, and they wear a quantity of amulets which are often pagan in origin (jackal's foot, lizard's head, hyena skin, etc.).

• [776] One observes certain noble families /307/ that, along with orthodox saints, invoke mysterious personages who can only be ancient minor gods they never got rid of. (1) In the old legends

1. Gautier, La conquête du Sahara, in Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

of the Ahaggar, Father de Foucauld has found the names of some of them: Tamâres, Bourdân, Tâssoud, Ouerdaz, Noulana, Radès. The Ihaggaren used to call on them to make their wishes come
[777 782] true, but today these personages have fallen into oblivion, and only a few old people still remember their names. (2)

2. In Vermale, op. cit., p. 184.

1777 Some Tuareg scrupulously practice fasting, and the different
1785 Moslem holidays are now followed punctually. But along with that
1795 they keep the ahal, monogamy, and matriarchy.

1774 Pagan survivals. -- Ten centuries of Islamism have not completely rid the Tuareg of their former beliefs. They still believe in the existence of an animated world peopled by elements acting visibly or invisibly, living in minerals, vegetables, water, etc. To be sure, these beliefs are growing blurred, dwindling and losing their intensity, but the Tuareg still live with them, even going so far as to practice certain rites, just as in the country in France.

Their belief in supernatural matter is more than we could possibly imagine. They believe in genii (ahinnen or imdounen) who
1776 inhabit the mountains, springs, steep places, and some trees. They
[1955] protect themselves from them by numerous talismans, which they beg from the marabouts, or by the practice of exorcizing. The women are even more credulous than the men on this point. They
1781 consult the dead by going to pray on their tombs and ask them news
1787 of those who are absent.

1778 Petrographic cults are still very much alive among the Tuareg.
1782 They believe that some stones are haunted, and to gain the good will of the spirits they place votive offerings in the form of pebbles nearby. Therefore, at the crossing of some mountain passes and some unavoidable paths one often finds enormous piles of stones imitating tumuli, or else many little piles placed on both sides of some camel trails. Some ancient tombs are the object of a quite peculiar worship, for example the one discovered at Tazerouk a few /308/ years ago by Captain Niéger. This tomb, on which lay several stone statuettes, polished axes, and numerous Neolithic objects, was still visited in recent years until the time when it was excavated by the French. The Tuareg deny this, of course, but the discovery of objects placed there recently (fragments of cloth,
1773 beads, etc.) proves it. The stone statues represented the Tibaradines,
1778 that is, "the maidens." They were supposedly a highborn woman
1782 and her servant who were turned into stone because the mistress

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer. 802

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines. [516 521]

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met. 487 823

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed from the Arabic and changed. 177 192 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" ةكز , or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This means "the black month." Here is why this month is so called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the 773 776 805

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread throughout the world, precisely in that month which was later called the "black month." 773 776 805

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," (corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted, صفر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/ 177 805

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," (corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle." This is also the name of a star. 805 [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim," (corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine (1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme /Essay on the History of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root "zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word الصوم "essoum," the fast. [177 1927]

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations," because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "A'id Ser'ir" takes place.

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

Chapter VIII

Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /1 ⁝ 11 , /60/
or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵍⵇⵓⵍ ⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ⁺ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good....They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" ⵔ⁺ⵄ, and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Azioue1 ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

754 /114 cont./ Belief in the evil eye is shared by the Negroes and the Tuareg: certain persons may by their words cause the worst calamities, induce illness, provoke accidents, make animals die. Happily, there are other persons who have the opposite power and who, by approaching a sleeper and placing a hand near his face, give him strength and luck for the day.

[777 831] In general women are carriers of bad luck in the morning; however, if an intimate lets her sex be glimpsed before a morning departure, luck will smile on the hunter.

Of one who has the evil eye, it is said in Tamashek; "illé tahot."

[777 776] Who gives that good or bad luck carried by an individual and which may sometimes emanate from him? The reply to this question is: God, for, after all, these people are Moslems; but each one is persuaded that the genii, the Kel es Souf, as the Tuareg say, are agents of this suprahuman life. The Kel es Souf constitute a people of spirits invisible during the day, but who may appear to humans at night in the most varied forms. At nightfall comes the most favorable moment for the exploits of the Kel es Souf. All manifestations of natural forces are attributed to these genii: whirlwinds, echoes, floods of the wadi, cave-ins, a spontaneous fire in the dry grass. On the contrary, the mirage ("eillel") is not the work of the Kel es Souf.

/115/ He who hears or sees one of these genii is always troubled; he may become ill and even insane, for, if there are indifferent Kel es Souf (very few, however), there are no good ones. It is because of this that one must know how to protect oneself against them; this is ordinarily done by invoking God, by carrying talismans, and by always having an iron object with oneself.

The Kel es Souf like certain places and reside there in preference to others: deep ravines, in which they shower atones on the unfortunate humans who venture there, and caves, in

776 /115 cont./ the depths of which are seen their strange lights. The In-Tafeute guelta is peopled with genii; the Amadror saltworks abound with Kel es Souf, who make an infernal racket at night, breaking the salt, hewing blocks, robbing all sleep from the people who have come to work and who the next morning see no sign of this nocturnal activity. Certain high places, of which the most famous is Garet el Djenoun, are also favorite haunts of all this invisible world.

It is said that in former times some particularly powerful men were on friendly terms with the Kel es Souf, who had a language of their own. Two ways used by the genii to count up to ten are still told:

First way:	Second way:
1 -- Djoukhien	Dienana
2 -- Djouressin	Dessinena
3 -- Djettar	Makarkada
4 -- Djettouri	Matezoua
5 -- Alendiez	Souraten
6 -- Indiez	Souratalni
7 -- Hamalou	Tiguemelguemal
8 -- Fellali	Teguedtassa
9 -- Terra	Nougomelli
10 -- Feck	Nourobelli

The misadventures of humans with the Kel es Souf are extremely numerous. Any Targui who has a little confidence in you /116/ will tell you of his and, excited by the subject, will relate those of others. There are classic tales, such as that of Titi.

773 Titi was a shrewd Targui who one night arrived at a wadi wooded with tabrakat. Dismounting from his camel at the place he intended to pass the night, he saw a woman. He greeted her and began to unsaddle his mount. As he unloaded a sack, the woman took it from him and placed it on the ground. He went to look for wood, and she went with him to help; he lighted his fire, she stirred the coals, this solicitude

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

the number of holes in each row and makes a special sign in the sand for even and uneven numbers. There are four possibilities of different signs:— (1) A sign called *tezli* if there is an uneven number of holes in both rows; (2) A sign known as *elelli* if there is an even number of holes in both rows; (3) A sign, *eggar*, if the number of holes is uneven in the right row, but even in the left row; (4) A sign, *tamayit*, if the number of holes is even in the right row, but uneven in the left. The diviner makes two rows of holes six times successively. Each time he makes one of the mentioned signs according to the distribution of holes, and the result of his divination depends upon the character of the signs and their relative position to each other (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 151 f.). – The Tuareg have other methods of divination which are perhaps also used to predict the result of planned hunting trips. They also know to take omens from the shoulder-blades of wild and domestic animals. When a hunter has killed a gazelle he will often keep the shoulder-blades for himself, and having eaten the meat he will take omens of future happenings from the structure of these bones. Such shoulder-blades will not be thrown to the dogs – they are hidden under rocks and stones (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 150 f.).

Some of the above mentioned usages and beliefs have been mentioned also by Lhote (Lhote 1951a, p. 180 f.), who has noted a few other customs connected with hunting:—

(8) If a hunter kills a snake he will get nothing. (A particular snake species known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *énegel* is never killed, as it is considered "sacred" and is referred to as a "marabut").

(9) If two men hunt together, but separate to meet later, the man who comes upon the other must not receive food from him.

(10) Handling the skin of game animals one must not put fingers into a bullet hole. This would cause bad shooting or accidents on future hunting trips, and the rule is observed even with tanned skin.

A few other superstitious usages have been recorded from Ahaggar by Captain Florimond (Rapport Annuel. Ouargla 1940). They are here quoted from Lhote 1951a, p. 181 f.:—

(11) Hunters of the *Dag Rali* take omens from the breaking of sandal straps in the pursuit of barbary sheep. If the straps passing between the toes break the hunter will kill a male, while he will get a female animal if the side-straps break.

(12) When Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* (*Dag Rali*) leave for a hunting trip they put a stone or pebble on their heads and utter an invocation to hunting spirits which is rapidly repeated ten times.

(13) When *Dag Rali* Tuareg set out hunting they take with them a stone from a pre-Islamic tomb. When game is seen they throw this stone far away crying at their dogs: "Go! What you kill shall be *hallal* and lawful!"

(14) When a barbary sheep has been killed by people hunting with dogs, the head of the animal is cut off and thrown on the fire while the following words are uttered:— "The smell from the burned skin of the head of the barbary sheep shall forever flatter the hunter's nostrils so that he may have good luck in future hunting also!" Tuareg of the *Kel Mertutek* will add:— "I have taken you from the *Kel Asuf* and I have taken only the blessing they have sold you that you may soon be followed by your pack!"

(15) At the partition of killed game the meat must be handled with slow motions. If not, the dogs will lose their fierceness.

(16) It is believed that a hunter should fix a burning piece of wood in the soil by the fire in which

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

his game has been prepared. If this wooden piece is removed by another hunter he will spoil all the hunting luck of the first hunter, who will then have to find the offender and spit three times between his shoulders in order to regain the lost hunting luck. If he does not find the offender he will give all his hunting dogs the following treatment:— Black powder is set on fire, and one ear of every dog is held close to the burning powder so that the dog will cry as loudly as possible. The same treatment is applied to the dogs in case anybody has handled the meat of game with rapid motions.

There can be little doubt that some of these superstitious usages are pre-Islamic, and it seems as though there is a certain connection between hunting rites and the *Kel Asuf* spirits corresponding to the *jinns* of the Arabs. This is also quite natural in view of the fact that these pre-Islamic spirits are believed mainly to inhabit the isolated areas preferred by game animals (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 125 ff.).

Game animals should always be killed ritually by cutting the throat like domestic animals (cf. p. 231). If an animal is killed by a rifle bullet, its throat is cut as quickly as possible, but the Tuareg say that even an animal killed in this way die "slowly" and that its death is not accomplished until the throat is cut. If a knife is lacking the Tuareg sometimes use a stone to beat open the throat of birds such as pigeon and guinea fowl.

[Text continues on p. 175]